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FM/FAS:COL FLEMINGS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, GR, US

SUBJECT: GOG REDRAFT OF SOUDA AB AGREEMENT

REFERENCES: A) ATHENS 1915; B) STATE 252138; C) STATE

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FOR AMBASSADOR

1. STATE AND DEFENSE HAVE STUDIED GREEK REDRAFT OF SOUDA AB AGREEMENT PROVIDED TO U.S. NEGOTIATORS IN ATHENS ON MARCH 22 IN CONJUNCTION WITH PERCEPTIVE COMMENTS AND ANALYSIS OF REFTEL A. WE ARE DISTURBED THAT GREEK REDRAFT RETAINS VIRTUALLY ALL MAJOR PROVISIONS U.S. PREVIOUSLY FOUND OBJECTIONABLE IN EARLIER GREEK DRAFT (REFTELS B AND C) AND CONTAINS ADDITIONAL IMPORTANT RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE AND PROVISIONS (ESP. ARTICLE III, PARA 5). WE HAVE REACHED RELUCTANT CONCLUSION THAT USG RESPONSE TO GREEK DRAFT AT NEGOTIATING LEVEL UNLIKELY TO BE FRUITFUL AT THIS TIME. THEREFORE WE RECOMMEND YOU SEEK APPOINTMENT AT HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL (PERHAPS WITH PRIME MINISTER) TO DISCUSS MATTER IN ATTEMPT TO BREAK IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS.

2. IT APPEARS THAT GREEK APPROACH TO SOUDA AB NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY THREE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES. THESE

IN TURN REFLECT GREEK PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROPER NATURE AND EVOLUTION USG-GOG-NATO RELATIONSHIP, WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH TRADITIONAL GREEK-U.S. RELATIONS OR PRESENT USG UNDERSTANDING OF THESE RELATIONSHIPS. GOG OBJECTIVES APPEAR TO BE:

A) OBTAIN INCREASED U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE IN EXCHANGE FOR CONTINUED GREEK COOPERATION REGARDING U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES IN GREECE;

B) ACHIEVE A NEW SOUDA AB AGREEMENT THAT WOULD FORMALIZE A VERY NARROW INTERPRETATION OF NATO CONTEXT IN WHICH FACILITIES IN GREECE ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO U.S. (DESIGNED IN PART TO PROTECT GREEK-ARAB RELATIONS AGAINST POSSIBLE U.S. USE OF FACILITIES IN GREECE TO ARAB'S DETRIMENT); AND

C) REDUCE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF U.S. MILITARY FORCES AND PERSONNEL IN GREECE WITHOUT ACTUAL RENEGOTIATION OF PRIOR AGREEMENTS ESTABLISHING THOSE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES,
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POSSIBLY USING STRONG GOG BARGAINING POSTURE IN SOUDA BAY NEGOTIATIONS TO SET PRECEDENTS THAT GOG WILL ATTEMPT TO GENERALIZE IN FUTURE RENEGOTIATION OF BASIC AGREEMENTS.

3. TOUGH GREEK NEGOTIATING STANCE MAY MERELY BE BARGAINING TACTIC OR MAY ARISE FROM GENUINE MISCONCEPTION THAT U.S. IS NOT FULLY HONORING ITS OBLIGATIONS TO OLD ALLY AND CONSEQUENTLY GREECE IS NOT RECEIVING BENEFITS OF

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP COMMENSURATE WITH ITS CONTRIBUTION TO IT. IN EITHER CASE MATTER OF DISAGREEMENT IS BROADER AND MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OR PROVISIONS OF GREEK SOUDA BAY DRAFT IN WHICH IT IS EMBODIED. WE BELIEVE HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL APPROACH BY YOU IS BEST MEANS TO ACHIEVE A CLARIFICATION AND RESOLUTION OF U.S.-GREEK CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES.

4. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT NATURE OF DIFFERENCE IN U.S.-GREEK APPROACH TO SOUDA AB HAS POTENTIAL POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS RANGING FAR BEYOND SOUDA NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, WE STRONGLY PREFER TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM IN RESTRICTED TERMS OF SOUDA NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME. SINCE WE ARE NOT YET ABLE TO GAUGE ACCURATELY WHETHER GOG IS MOVING TOWARD REDEFINITION OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS OR SEEKS TO ACHIEVE ANOTHER END BY APPEARING WILLING TO DO SO, DEMARCHE LIMITED TO ISSUE OF SOUDA AB SEEKS TO AVOID POSSIBLE UNNECESSARY CONFRONTATION ON LARGER ISSUES. WE SUGGEST YOU INCLUDE FOLLOWING POINTS IN YOUR DEMARCHE:

A) WE ARE DISAPPOINTED BY EFFORTS OF SOME GREEK MILITARY OFFICERS TO LINK RESUMPTION OF GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR UNREALISTIC INCREASES IN FMS CREDITS TO PROGRESS IN SOUDA AB AGREEMENT;

B) U.S. IS SYMPATHETIC TO GREEK NEED TO MODERNIZE ARMED FORCES AND IN TERMS OF MUTUALLY RECOGNIZED GREEK REQUIREMENTS, WE WILL BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE WITHIN THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY CONGRESS AND LIMITATION OF WORLD-WIDE RESOURCES.

C) WE BELIEVE THAT FACILITIES WE HAVE REQUESTED FOR SOUDA WILL ASSIST IN ENSURING GREEK SECURITY IN SAME
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WAY AS PRESENCE OF SIXTH FLEET IN MEDITERRANEAN, U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE, U.S. NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, ETC., CONTRIBUTE TO GREEK SECURITY WITHOUT EXPLICIT ASSIGNMENT TO THIS MISSION.

D) WE WERE DISAPPOINTED TO FIND THAT THE GOG REDRAFT OF THE SOUDA AB AGREEMENT FAILED TO ADVANCE THESE NEGOTIATIONS, SINCE VIRTUALLY ALL THE MAJOR PROVISIONS WE FOUND UNACCEPTABLE IN THE EARLIER GREEK DRAFT WERE RETAINED, AND NEW PROVISIONS WERE ADDED MAKING THE AGREEMENT SUBSTANTIALLY MORE RESTRICTIVE.

E) WE CONSIDER NATO SOFA INVIOLEATE. FURTHER, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO ACCEPT LESSER STATUS FOR U.S. PERSONNEL AT SOUDA AB THAN THAT ACCORDED TO OUR PERSONNEL

IN OTHER PARTS OF GREECE. WHILE USG WISHES TO BRING SOUDA AB AGREEMENT INTO LINE WITH ACTIVITY LEVEL OF RECENT YEARS, AS EVIDENCED BY OUR EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD SINCE 1968, WE ARE UNWILLING TO UNDERMINE OTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE PROCESS. IF GOG WISHES TO ADDRESS SUBSTANCE OR APPLICATION OF RELEVANT BILATERAL AGREEMENTS OUTSIDE CONTEXT OF SOUDA AB OR OTHER SPECIFIC FACILITIES NEGOTIATIONS, WE ARE ALWAYS WILLING TO DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS.

F) IN EVENT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH ACCOMMODATION WITH GOG ON A NEW SOUDA AB AGREEMENT, NEGATIVE EFFECT ON ABILITY OF SIXTH FLEET TO MEET NATO COMMITMENTS WILL, OF COURSE, BECOME MATTER OF CONCERN WITHIN NATO AS WELL AS IN UNITED STATES, WITH UNCERTAIN IMPACT ON PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF CONCERN TO BOTH U.S. AND GREECE.

G) WE HOPE THAT SOUDA AB NEGOTIATIONS WILL MOVE FORWARD PROMPTLY IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND ALLIANCE THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONSHIP FOR MORE THAN 25 YEARS.

5. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO SEEK EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY SAME LINE TO APPROPRIATE SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS.

6. OUR COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE AND PROVISIONS OF GREEK RE-DRAFT WILL BE PROVIDED FOLLOWING REPORT OF YOUR SECRET

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